

## Message Text

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ORIGIN IO-11

INFO OCT-01 SS-15 ARA-06 EUR-12 AF-06 NEA-10 EA-07 PRS-01

AID-05 H-02 ISO-00 SP-02 MMO-01 PER-01 L-03 CIAE-00

INR-07 NSAE-00 IGA-02 EB-07 PM-04 PA-01 USIA-06 A-01

/111 R

DRAFTED BY IO:SWLEWIS/JLWASHBURN/BYS

APPROVED BY P:JSISCO

ARA - A. FISHLOW S/S:MR BORG

EUR - M. ZIMMERMAN

AF - J. WHITING

NEA - J. CHEEK

EA - R. H. MILLER

S/PRS - J. H. TRATTNER

AID - P. BIRNBAUM

H - L. PEZZULLO

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R 192132Z JAN 76

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL DIPLOMATIC POSTS

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 013264

KUWAIT POUCH BAGHDAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN

SUBJECT: ORGANIZING FOR MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY

REF: STATE 303856 DATED 12/29/75

1. TWO RECENT ARTICLES BY LESLIE GELB (NYT 1/9/76)  
AND MURRAY MARDER (WASHINGTON POST 1/10) HAVE DESCRIBED  
IN DISTORTED FASHION EFFORTS BEING LAUNCHED BY  
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DEPARTMENT TO ENHANCE SUPPORT FOR U.S. DIPLOMATIC  
OBJECTIVES IN VARIOUS MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS.

ARTICLES HAVE STIMULATED NERVOUS QUERIES FROM SOME GOVERNMENTS. REFTEL FROM SECRETARY PROVIDED BASIC POLICY GUIDANCE AND RATIONALE FOR RESPONDING TO INQUIRIES. THIS MESSAGE FURNISHES SUPPLEMENTARY ELABORATION, TO BE TAILORED OF COURSE TO INDIVIDUAL POST NEEDS.

2. NEW ORGANIZATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS IN IO SUCH AS IO'S NEW OFFICE OF MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS, PLUS IMPROVED LINKS TO REGIONAL BUREAUS, ARE INTENDED TO IMPROVE DEPARTMENT'S CAPACITY TO ANALYZE AND ANTICIPATE ISSUES, DISSEMINATE BACKGROUND MATERIALS TO FIELD, AND PLAN A SYSTEMATIC, YEAR-ROUND STRATEGY ON KEY MULTILATERAL QUESTIONS. THE TARGET SHOULD BE MORE CONTINUOUS AND EFFECTIVE CONSULTATION WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS THROUGHOUT

THE YEAR, LARGELY THROUGH OUR POSTS ABROAD, ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES WHICH ARE PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO EITHER PARTY. WE WANT TO: A) ENSURE THAT OTHER GOVERNMENTS UNDERSTAND IMPORTANCE (DESCRIBED PARA 2 REFTEL) OF THEIR MULTILATERAL ACTIONS AS AN INHERENT PART OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS; AND, B) TO ACHIEVE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE UNDERSTANDING OF, AND COOPERATION ON, USG MULTILATERAL OBJECTIVES BOTH IN SUPPORT OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS AND IN FURTHERANCE OF THOSE OBJECTIVES.

3. THERE HAVE BEEN, AND UNDOUBTEDLY WILL BE EVEN AFTER WE HAVE MADE OUR BEST EFFORTS AT PERSUASION, A FEW INSTANCES IN WHICH COUNTRIES GRATUITOUSLY OPPOSE OUR POSITIONS ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES OF THE HIGHEST DIRECT IMPORTANCE TO US, OR HAVE BEEN NEEDLESSLY OFFENSIVE TO THE U.S. IN INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS. THESE INSTANCES HAVE BEEN AND WILL BE WEIGHED CAREFULLY AS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE SELECTIVE PROCESS OF ALLOCATING OUR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE RESOURCES, NOW IN VERY SHORT SUPPLY IN ANY EVENT. THERE HAVE BEEN CLEAR INDICATIONS THAT CONGRESS WANTS US TO TAKE SUCH CONSIDERATIONS FULLY INTO ACCOUNT IN REACHING DECISIONS ON COUNTRY AID LEVELS, (E.G. AMONG OTHER CONGRESSIONAL

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ACTIONS, THERE IS LANGUAGE TO THIS EFFECT IN THE PENDING SECURITY ASSISTANCE LEGISLATION). IT IS ALSO CLEAR THAT CONGRESS EXPECTS US, AND WE INTEND, TO MAKE THESE JUDGMENTS SENSITIVELY, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT BOTH A) THE CONTINUING CONGRESSIONAL ENDORSEMENT OF THE IDEA THAT OUR BILATERAL AID HAS LONG-TERM DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES WHICH SHOULD NOT BE ARBITRARILY DISRUPTED BY SHORT-RANGE POLITICAL PROBLEMS, AND B) THE FULL RANGE OF OUR OTHER NATIONAL INTERESTS.

4. NO ONGOING AID PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN CUT OR CANCELLED AS A RESULT OF RECIPIENTS' ACTIONS IN MULTILATERAL FORA THUS FAR. INDIVIDUAL POSTS HAVE ALREADY BEEN INFORMED THAT A FEW DELAYS, REDUCTIONS, OR CANCELLATIONS OF NEW AID COMMITMENTS MAY OCCUR WITH REGARD TO THEIR COUNTRIES. NO FURTHER ONES ARE CONTEMPLATED AS A RESULT OF PAST VOTING BEHAVIOR OR OTHER ACTIONS. TO ADD CREDIBILITY TO OUR DIPLOMATIC PERSUASION, HOWEVER, POSTS SHOULD NOT SEEK TO DISPEL IMPRESSION THAT FUTURE HOSTILITY TO OUR KEY INTERESTS WILL NOT BE COST-FREE--NOR INDEED WILL IT BE.

5. THE FOREGOING IS FOR BACKGROUND INFORMATION. SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS FOLLOW, TO BE ADAPTED AS REQUIRED BY LOCAL CIRCUMSTANCES:

-- THE U.S. AND MOST OTHER COUNTRIES RECOGNIZE THAT IN BILATERAL RELATIONS THE ACTIONS OF EACH PARTY ARE SHARPLY INFLUENCED BY THE ACTIONS OF THE OTHER, REGARDLESS OF WHERE THOSE ACTIONS TAKE PLACE. SINCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS, WE AND MANY OTHER GOVERNMENTS HAVE INCLUDED VOTES THERE AMONG THESE ACTIONS WHICH AFFECT BILATERAL RELATIONS.

-- NOW, BECAUSE OF THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF INTERNATIONAL FORA IN AN INCREASINGLY INTERDEPENDENT WORLD, WE ARE TRYING TO IMPROVE OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE WAYS IN WHICH COUNTRIES ARRIVE AT THE ACTIONS THEY TAKE IN THESE FORA. THIS WILL BE THE BASIS OF RENEWED EFFORTS TO MAKE GOVERNMENTS AWARE ON A CONTINUING AND  
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TIMELY BASIS OF WHICH MULTILATERAL ISSUES ARE OF SUFFICIENT IMPORTANCE TO US TO HAVE AN IMPACT ON OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. WE HAVE ESTABLISHED A NEW OFFICE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE TO SUPPORT AND COORDINATE THIS EFFORT.

-- FINANCIAL LIMITATIONS ON OUR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE REQUIRE US TO BE MORE SELECTIVE IN OUR CHOICE OF NEW PROGRAMS. THE OBJECTIVES OF THE PARTICULAR PROGRAM AND THE FULL EXTENT OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH RECIPIENTS, INCLUDING THE MULTILATERAL ASPECT, WILL BE CONSIDERED IN THE SELECTION PROCESS.

-- THIS DOES NOT CONSTITUTE A NEW AMERICAN POLICY OR ATTITUDE. RATHER, WE ARE ORGANIZING OURSELVES TO MAKE OUR PRESENT CONDUCT OF BILATERAL RELATIONS--CARRIED OUT IN THE SAME MANNER AS MOST COUNTRIES--MORE EFFECTIVE IN THE PRESENT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC

CIRCUMSTANCES.

-- WE PRESUME AND, IN FACT, HOPE OTHER COUNTRIES WILL  
RESPOND IN THE SAME SPIRIT. WE BELIEVE SOME COUNTRIES  
HAVE BEEN TEMPTED TO ADOPT SOME POSITIONS ON ISSUES  
AT THE UN PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF VIEWS WITHIN GROUPS TO  
WHICH THEY BELONG, AND NOT BECAUSE OF THEIR OWN  
INTERESTS IN THESE ISSUES. IT IS OUR HOPE THAT IN  
CASES INVOLVING ISSUES OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE TO THE  
U.S. THEY WILL WEIGH CAREFULLY WHETHER IT IS IN THEIR  
INTEREST TO REACH VOTING DECISIONS IN THIS MANNER. KISSINGER

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
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